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KINSHIP

The cross-cousin relationship is the foundation of the kinship system of Lau, and differs in no respect from that usually described as the Fijian system, but which is really that of Mbau and Lomaitivi. If a man is related in any way to another man, he will be related in exactly the same way to that other man's brother, but not to his sister. If he is related in any way to a woman he is related in the same way to that woman's sister, but not to her brother. The Lauan kinship terms are here given:

Kainga. Relation. The Tongan word is *kainga*; the Fijian *veiwekani* is also used, but it also means brother and sister. A frequent term is *veikilai*, acquainted, for to know a man and to be related to a man are the same.

Tama. Father. Includes the father's brother, the father's father's brother's son, and so on. Other fathers than the true father are distinguished as little fathers. The term "big father" is not used.

Tina. Mother; also mother's sister, mother's mother's sister's daughter, following the female line. Mothers other than the true mother are called "little mother." The term "big mother" is unknown. A term of address to a mother is *nau*; it is also used as a proper name with the article *ko*; *na tinanggu*, my mother, but *ko nau*, mother.

Luve. Child. The converse of *tama* and *tina*. To designate a brother's child *luve ni tathinggu* is used.

Tuaka. Elder brother of a male, or elder sister of a female; also sometimes used by a man to designate his elder sister; used by the son of a younger brother to designate the son, whether older or younger, of a elder brother.

Tathi. The converse of *tuaka*; a man's younger brother or a woman's younger sister. If not own brothers or sisters *tathi* is applied to the descendant of the younger brother or sister. The term "my little *tathi*" was once used by a woman to designate the descendant of a younger brother. The term *tathi* is sometimes used in speaking of the opposite sex.

Weka. Relatives in general, but more particularly a man's sister, or a woman's brother.

Tuka. Grandfather, and any male ancestor. A great grandfather is *tukanggu vakarua* (my grandfather twice).

Tumbu. Grandmother and any female ancestor.

Makumbu. Grandchild is the converse of *tuka* and *tumbu*. Proper terms for generations below grandchildren, *vuarumbe* for great-grandchildren, and *timbathotho* for great-great-grandchildren rarely used. In conversation people speak of their grandchildren twice, or thrice.

Vungo. The mother's brother and his wife; the father's sister and her husband, wife or husband's father or mother; nephew. It is its own converse and is therefore used by a man to designate his sister's children; by a woman, her brother's children, and so on. A term of address for the mother's brother is *momo*.

Tavale. Father's sister's child, mother's brother's child, if the persons related are of the same sex; wife's brother, and husband's sister.

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601 **Wati.** The same as *tavale* when applied to opposite sexes; a wife. The Mbauan term *ndavola*, doubtfully Lauan is rarely heard in Lau. It is usually derived from *ndavo*, to lie, but this is impossible for the *a* of *ndavola* is short; in *ndavo* it is long. Also it is not a Fijian formation; it should be divided *nda-vola*.

Relationship is usually expressed by terms which may be regarded as collective, or reciprocal, or both for the prefix *vei*, serves to make collective nouns and reciprocal verbs; in addition is a suffix—*ni*, thus:

Veitamani. Father and child.
Veitinani. Mother and child.
Veitathini. Brothers; sisters. Two *veitathini* means two sets of brothers or even two brothers.
Veiwekani. Brother and sister.
Veitukani. Grandfather and grandchild.
Veitumbuni. Grandmother and grand child.
Veivungoni. Uncle and nephew.
Veitavaleni. Cousins, generally of the same sex.
Veiwatini. Cousins of the opposite sexes; man and wife.
Veindavolani. Cousins of opposite sexes.
Veithavani: what relation?

I have heard the term Veitambani, only once. The Lord of Tumbou says a man and his wife's brother are *veitavaleni* (cousins) and *veitambani*. This may be a usage in the island of Matauku where Tui Tumbou lived in his youth. The word is formed from *tamba;* (side, wing,) and therefore means related as one side to another.

582 The foundation of the Lauan marriage system is that a man's children marry his sister's children, or, as the natives put it, "The child of the woman is brought up to be the wife of the child of the man." It is considered so normal for cousins to marry that if a man and his wife belong to different places people inquire, "How came they to be man and wife?" and go into the pedigrees and conclude, "Of course, they are cousins (*veindavolani*)."

Should two cousins have an intrigue, "it is all right, since they are man and wife." Marriage occurs even between first cousins.

582 565 The descendants of a noble may marry one another if they are distantly related according to Lauan custom. An informant says.

> The nobles decide to confound the descent (*vakasese kawa*) that nobles may arise. Common people cannot confound the descent, but can marry from love. That will be their own concern; they marry in their wilfulness, because they like one another, but they do not tell the old folk, but it is known that they are brother and sister.

582 Once two families have intermarried, there is a tendency to continue the practice generation after generation. Thus the family of Navuanirewa

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wangga there is no precedence, because they have different mothers. The reason why I do not speak in Salesi's presence is that Salesi comes first in Vatuwangga, because Kilai, Salesi's father, was Taliai's eldest son. The reason why I may not speak to Liwaki is that he is a descendant of Malani, the eldest son of Rasolo. Liwaki may not speak to Ratu Finau, the High Chief, because Liwaki is the son of a younger brother. Yet Salesi may converse with Liwaki because they are brothers through their mothers.

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Thus the statement that there is no precedence in the clan must be qualified: there are certain persons whose birth makes them great within the clan. Thus the late Rasolo, the third Lord of Naiau's daughter's son, was reported to have been a strong-minded man, perhaps because he prided himself on his rank: his mother was the daughter of Taliai, older than all the children of Taliai except the eldest son. In jest I was set down as Melaia Lutu's son, and told on that account I might send on errands the son of Melaia's "little sister"—by European reckoning, a cousin. The rank and file of the descendants of Niumataiwalu, ancestor of the nobility, however, lived on terms of easy familiarity.

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The avoidance between own brothers seems to be connected in the minds of the people with the avoidance of brother and sister. The same avoidance as that between brother and sister is exercised between aunt and nephew, aunt and niece, uncle and niece, as between uncle and nephew, and between a man and his wife's mother, whether *veivungoni* are uncle and nephew or father-in-law and son-in-law. Respect is paid to the father's sister if she is older than the father, but not if she is younger. A woman will use respectful language (*vaka rokoroko*) to her elder brother's son. I could hear of no special functions of the father's sister.

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According to Lakemban custom, a man does not use terms of respect to the mother's brother if the mother is the elder, whereas in Viti Levu the polite adverb *saka* is user regardless of precedence. The High Chief's elder sister's eldest son is greater than his uncle, because his mother is the elder sister, but he follows the Mbauan custom, not being acquainted with the Lauan; he uses the term *saka* and the second person plural in addressing his uncle; he generally sits at the lower end of the house while his uncle sits at the top. The Chief can speak to his nephew, but "it is difficult for his nephew to answer." They only could converse in private. The Chief on the other hand used the second person plural to his nephew, but not the word *saka*; he would keep away from the school grounds because his nephew was there. They never walked together, though indifferent as to which of them went first. Sometimes at kava the High Chief would pass on his cup to his nephew.

The mother's people are frequently referred to collectively as "your uncles" and a man would be told to "get a wife, as is fitting, from *your* uncles."

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of it, and the rest was distributed among the people. Tui Oneata originally came from 776
Nakauvandra in heathen times. The reef is his path: Mbukatatanoa, Vanua Masi; he passes on the further side of Lase Viti and Lase Tonga, goes to Olorua, Katavanga, Malevuvu, Thikombia i Lau, Nasavasara, Wailangilala, Rambe, Thikombia i Ra, Mathuata, Nambainivualiku, Yasawa, Nakauvandra.

Tui Oneata has two nephews (*vasu*) in the village: they live in two stones. They are known as Vasu i Tui Oneata. If they carry off a child he does not recover; the people learn from the priest that he cannot live because the nephews have taken his soul; people pray to them but in vain. The people used to be afraid of touching the stones.

Tui Oneata once went to Lakemba. The god of Lakemba, Tui Tumbou's god, was in heaven, so his house in Tarukua was empty. Tui Oneata lay with Thangandua, his wife, but she spilt the scented oil so that the smell reached to heaven. The god of Lakemba said, "There is someone in my house." He came down to his village. What he did is not related, but his wife made a present of mullets to Tui Oneata, since when there are scarcely any in Lakemba, but many come to Oneata.

Longaniu have a god called Nawa; his temple was in Ndakuiloa; his priest was called Ko Nambetekotonga (The Tongan priest).

When the king of Tonga used to come, his people hung chestnut leaves on their necks; they brought soil from Tonga (*ta nggele mai*); they cooked yams and pigs; the priest shook and fell down; then he ate of the pigs and yams; after which the Lord of Tonga could proceed to Fiji. Fijians did not pray to Nawa.

An account relates why there were no mosquitoes in Oneata, while there 773
were in Kambara.

The ancestor-god of Oneata, Wakulikuli slept. The ancestor-god of Kambara, Mberewalaki, came to Oneata and said, "Would you like my insects?"

The god of Oneata said, "What insects?"

The god of Kambara said, "My alarm."

The god of Oneata said, "Go and fetch them."

The god of Kambara went to get them and wrapped them in a young plantain leaf. The god of Oneata went to the marsh in Oneata and gave the *kekewa* to the god of Kambara. The god of Oneata opened the plantain leaf and all the mosquitoes flew out. He went to sleep, but the mosquitoes kept biting him; he awoke. "The god of Kambara is indeed a knave," he said. He pursued the god of Kambara, and said to him, "You are a knave!"

The god of Kambara said, "Why?"

The god of Oneata said, "Inasmuch as you gave me the mosquitoes. Where are my *kekewa*?"

The god of Kambara said, "Go and look for them."

The god of Oneata went, but did not find them. So the mosquitoes remained in Oneata. At the present day there are plenty of *kekewa* shells in the marsh, but no flesh in them: the flesh is in Kambara.

TAUVU

The word *tauvu* is derived from *vu* (origin, ancestor, god). The prefix 601
tau—in Thakaundrove forms collective kinship terms like *tui*—in Lauan only without the aid of the suffix *ni*; thus "brothers" in the Thakaundrove dialect is *tautathi*, in Lauan *veitathini*. The word "*tauvu*" therefore means "related as gods." The word has come, however, to have the force of a

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601 simple kindship term: a man will speak of another as "my *tauvu*" (*nggou tauvu*), and a collective *veitauvu* has been formed from this, and from this again has been formed a verb *veitauvutaki* which means to behave or to be as one man to his *tauvu*.

602 [776] The relation of *tauvu* is commonly defined as having common spirits (*tevoro vata*) or having common gods (*vu vata*). The behaviour of people who are *tauvu* to one another is described thus:

[824] They abuse one another and do not resent it, men and women, it is all one. When they meet they say, "The orphan," or "the body fit to bake is coming." When they have done abusing one another they talk nicely. If a stranger comes into the village and as a joke strokes or ruffles the head of a native the people of that village know he must be a *tauvu* because the head is a respected part of the body. Cross-cousins are like people *tauvu* to one another: they may joke obscenely. The custom of *tauvu* is like that of *vasu*, for if a man goes to a place which is *tauvu* to him he can slaughter pigs and fowls for his own use without asking leave.

602 621 Lakemba, apart from the nobles, has the following *tauvu*: Wainikeli in Taveuni; the island of Mbengga; some village of Koro, no one knew which; and Namara, near Mbau. When, however, these relationships are looked into they are found really to belong to particular clans in Tumbou, but they have extended more or less to the whole island.

The real *tauvu* of the nobles and of all Katumbalevu is Notho, near Rewa. Notho is really the *tauvu* of Naiau; the nobles being from Naiau have the same *tauvu*. (For the story, see p. 212.)

The other *tauvu* are not *tauvu* of the nobles only because they are *tauvu* of the landsmen (*koira a Vanua*), that is, Valelailai, Thekena, Tumbou. Emosi declares that Valelailai alone has *tauvu* because they were owners of the god Tui Lakemba; Wainikeli, Mbengga, Koro, and Namara are *tauvu* because of him; he went to those places. Semi of Tumbou admits that the clan that has most *tauvu* is Narewandamu, and that Emosi ought to know because his father lived long in Wainikeli and Namara. The Wainikeli people themselves name Narewandamu as their *tauvu*; the others are not disputed except Mbengga which Tui Tumbou claims as his. Poasa tells the following legend about Mbengga:

773 776 The daughter of Tui Lakemba was Raluve. She climbed a *mamba* tree. This goddess then flew like a bird. She reached right up to heaven and came down to Mbengga, where she married Tui Mbengga, the god (*vu*) of Mbengga. She had a child in Mbengga, and so she had descendants in Mbengga. The Mbenggans are descendants of the female, while Lakembans are descendants of the male; Lakemba and Mbengga are therefore cross-cousins, and this cross-cousinship is called *veitautaki*.

602 621 Waitambu is subject to Thekena because they have common spirits (*kalou*), common gods (*vu*). It was never said that they were *tauvu* to Thekena.

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ABSTRA

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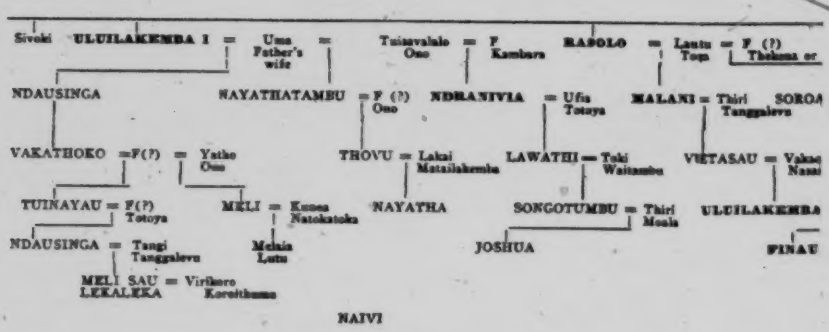

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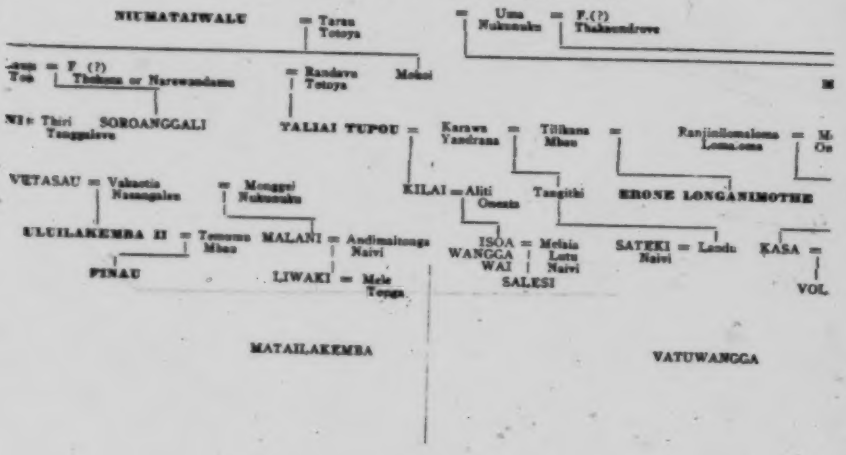
ABSTRACT OF THE GENEALOGY OF NAVUANIREWA



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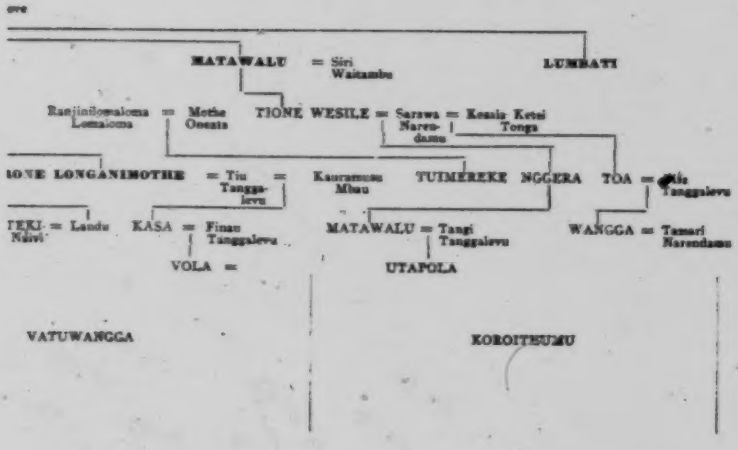

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membership in the clan and is not allowed to inherit clan land. He is, however, given the use of a piece of land belonging to the clan with which he is associated. Actually, the illegitimate child often remains with his mother's people.

The greatest prejudice is against half-caste bastards, called *kai loma* (people-in-between). If their fathers are European they are said to have no clan at all and therefore lack membership and rank in the community.

Relationship Terms

The principles of primogeniture, seniority, and cross-cousin marriage regulate the rank of the individual within the clan. Older siblings and their descendants outrank young ones. The oldest son and his descendants hold the highest rank and inherit the clan titles. The first-born, male or female, is called the old head (*ulu matua*) and is honored by special pregnancy, birth, and initiation ceremonies.

Seniority is expressed in the kinship system by means of terms with age significance. For instance, a line is drawn between the older and the younger brothers of a man's real father (*tama*). His father's older brothers are designated by the term *tama levu* (big father), his younger brothers by the term *tama lailai* (small father). A man's older brothers and the sons of his *tama levu* are designated by the term *tuaka*; his younger brothers and the sons of his *tama lailai*, by the term *tachi*. A corresponding distinction is made in regard to the sisters of a man's mother and their sons. These differentiations reflect social attitudes expressed in behavior patterns, by which younger siblings and their descendants honor older siblings and their descendants.

It should be noted, however, that the terms with age significance are alternates for more comprehensive terms without age significance. For instance, the term *tama* (father) includes the father's brothers and the term *tachi* includes a man's brothers and male parallel cousins. In other words, there is a complete set of kinship terms without those which specify relative age. It is probable, therefore, that the age designating terms and modifiers and the principle of rank they reflect have been incorporated into a system without age and rank significance.

The Lauan kinship system is of the classificatory type. It is based on cross-cousin marriage. Kinship terms are not used as they are written in the following list, but are always followed by a possessive suffix which has been indicated by a hyphen. For example, the word *tama* (father) is never used without a possessive suffix as *tamanggu* (my father), or *tamana* (his father). Terms of address, however, are used without a possessive suffix. The same kinship term is used whether the speaker is male or female unless indicated by ms (male speaking) or fs (female speaking).

1. Tama-: Father, father's brother, father's father's brother's son, father's father's sister's son, spouse's mother's brother, and the husbands of all women designated by *tchina-* (2). The term *tama- levu* (big father) is used to specify the

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father's older brother and the husband of *tchina- levu* (2). The term *tama-lailai* (little father) is used to specify the father's younger brother and the husband of *tchina- lailai* (2).

2. Tchina-: Mother, mother's sister, mother's father's brother's daughter, mother's father's sister's daughter, spouse's father's sister, and the wives of all men designated by *tama-* (1). The term *tchina- levu* (big mother) is used to specify the mother's older sister and the wife of *tama- levu* (1). The term *tchina-lailai* (little mother) is used to specify the mother's younger sister and the wife of *tama- lailai* (1).
3. Tuaka-: The converse of *tachi-* (4). (ms) Elder brother and the son of *tama-levu* (1). Also the term is occasionally used to designate the elder sister. (fs) Elder sister and the daughter of *tama- levu*.
4. Tachi-: Generic term for siblings (brothers and sisters) and parallel cousins. Specifically it is the converse of *tuaka-* (3). (ms) Younger brother and the son of *tama- levu* (1). (fs) Younger sister and the daughter of *tchina-lailai* (2.)
5. Weka-: A reciprocal term. (ms) Sister, female parallel cousin including the daughter of *tama-* (1) and *tchina-* (2), and the wife of *tavale-* (9). (fs) Brother, male parallel cousin including the son of *tama-* (1) and *tchina-* (2), and the husband of *ndauve-* (10).
6. Karua: A reciprocal term of address usually used without a possessive suffix. It is a term denoting respect as well as kinship. (ms) Male parallel cousin, including the son of *tama-* (1) and *tchina-* (2), and the husband of *watchi-* (7), less frequently, brother. (fs) Female parallel cousin including the daughter of *tama-* (1) and *tchina-* (2), and the wife of *watchi-* (7); less frequently, sister.
7. Watchi-: A reciprocal term for spouse. (ms) Female cross cousin, hence the father's sister's daughter, mother's brother's daughter, father's father's sister's daughter's daughter, mother's mother's brother's daughter's daughter. (fs) Male cross cousin, hence the father's sister's son, mother's brother's son, father's father's sister's daughter's son, the mother's mother's brother's daughter's son. The first spouse is the *matai ni watchi-*.
8. Ndavola-: A reciprocal term used as an alternate for *watchi-* (7). *Ndavola-* is considered a more polite form of address than *watchi-*. *Ndavola-* is a Mbauan term, whereas *watchi-* is Lauan.
9. Tavale: A reciprocal term used only by males to refer to males. (ms.) Male cross cousin, hence the father's sister's son, mother's brother's son, husband of *watchi-* (7).
10. Ndauve-: A reciprocal term corresponding to *tavale-* (9), used only by females to refer to females. (fs) Female cross cousin, hence the wife of *watchi-* (7).
11. Vungo-: A reciprocal term. Mother's brother, father's sister, mother-in-law, father-in-law, child of *weka-* (5), spouse of *luve-* (12). (ms) Child of *tavale-* (9). (fs) Child of *ndauve-* (10).
12. Luve-: Speaker's child, child of *watchi-* (7), child of *karua* (6). The converse of *tama-* (1) and *tchina-* (2). (*Ngone* is the generic name for child.)
13. Tuka-: Grandfather, any male ancestor. *Tuka- levu* (big grandfather) is used to designate the grandfather's older brother; *tuka- lailai* (little grandfather) to designate his younger brother. Great-grandfather is designated as *tuka-vakarua* (second grandfather), great-great-grandfather as *tuka- vakatolu* (third grandfather).
14. Tumbu-: Grandmother, any female ancestor. *Tumbu- levu* (big grandmother) is used to designate the grandmother's older sister and the wife of the *tuka-levu*; *tumbu- lailai* (little grandmother) to designate her younger sister and the wife of *tuka- lailai*. Great grandmother is designated as *tumbu- vakarua* (second grandmother), etc.

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601 15. Makumbu-: Grandchild. The converse of *tuka-* (13) and *tumbu-* (14). Great grandchild is designated as *makumbu- vakarua* (second grandchild), etc. Step-relatives are designated by the term *vakathambethambe*, i.e., *tama- vakathambethambe* (step-father); *tchina- vakathambethambe* (step-mother).

184 Informants say that kinship terms in southern Lau, in the Exploring Isles, and the Moala group differ slightly. It is reported that the Tongan system of making no distinction between parallel and cross cousins of opposite sexes is found on Vanua Mbalavu.

Behavior between Relatives

cross cousins

605 *Veiwatchini* is a collective term for cross cousins of opposite sexes. All of a man's female cross cousins and all of a woman's male cross cousins are preferred mates designated by the term *watchi*. The term for spouse is also *watchi*. The Mbauan term, *ndavola*, is an alternate term for a cross cousin of the opposite sex. It is used in southern Lau to show respect.

605 521 522 A familiar relationship exists between *veiwatchini*. There are no tabus between them. They address one another by name and use the familiar second person singular pronoun, *ko iko*. They talk freely with one another, which means that they joke with one another about sex, for practically all conversation between non-tabu members of opposite sexes and much of the conversation between non-tabu members of the same sex, centers around sex. Jokes usually consist of obscene remarks. Such remarks are tabu between relatives whose relationship involves avoidance.

605 836 837 There is no tabu on sexual intercourse between cross cousins, and, in spite of the ideals of premarital chastity for girls and of strict monogamy, there is considerable freedom between classificatory cross cousins both before and after marriage. In order to avoid gossip and marital jealousy, an affair with a cross cousin is kept secret. One does not often hear of sexual intercourse between relatives whose relationship involves avoidance.

593 837 Behavior patterns between a man and his wife do not differ greatly from those between cross cousins of opposite sexes. However, occasionally when a man is angry he beats his wife, but he does not beat a female cross cousin who is not his wife. Excessive cruelty toward one's spouse is rare and is talked about in the village. The people of Tokalau talked about a man whom they said had injured his wife's back by beating her. If a man scolds or beats his wife repeatedly she will run to her father's house. Then the people will talk about the husband. If he wants her back he presents a whale's tooth or other property to her relatives. Domestic quarrels and separations are not common. The discovery of adultery on the part of one's spouse usually causes only temporary friction. Fidelity to one's spouse is not really expected.

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The husband is the head of the household and his wife obeys him. Unless a person of higher rank is present, he is served first at meals and receives the best portions of food. A wife often uses the polite term *turanga* (headman) in referring to her husband or her husband's older brother.

BROTHERS, SISTERS, AND PARALLEL COUSINS

Veiwekani is the collective term for brothers and sisters, and parallel cousins of opposite sexes. In contrast to the freedom between cross cousins, a strict avoidance exists between *veiwekani*. They are *veitambui* (tabu). On Kambara intercourse of any sort is tabu between them. They avoid meeting. A man does not enter a house where his sister is except in case of necessity. He does not look at her, but lowers his eyes. If necessary he communicates with her through a third person. A woman is permitted to cook food for her brother, and a man may help to prepare the earth oven in which food for his sister is steamed. Brothers and sisters eat the evening meal with the rest of the household in the same kitchen, but they may not eat from the same plate, nor may one eat what the other has left. They are not allowed to wear each other's kilts, and a woman may not wash her brother's clothes. A man may use mats his sister has made.

Up to the age of seven or eight brother and sister sleep in the same house, but then avoidance begins and the brother moves into a men's house belonging to his clan or into the house of a relative, while his sister usually remains in the house of the parents. After a boy has been circumcised the tabus are strictly enforced.

A man's father's older brother's daughter is the most tabu and the most respected of all his *weka*. The tabu is usually more strict between first parallel cousins than between brother and sister.

The brother-sister tabu is still upheld on Kambara, although not so strictly as in the past. Today *veiwekani* sometimes converse secretly, but to do so is considered foolish (*lialia*) because the couple loses face in the village. A case of evasion of the brother-sister tabu came to my attention in Tokalau.

> A young man, aged 22, of Mbete subclan of the Vuanikathu clan had just started to build a house of his own although he had been married almost two years. He slept with his wife and child in the crowded house of his parents. Four of his sisters—aged 20, 19, 18, and 14—slept in the same house, and he talked to them. His sisters never started a conversation with him, but they answered him. Several times, when the brother and sisters were alone, the questions and answers developed into a conversation. His behavior was criticised but he was somewhat excused because he was considered slightly deficient mentally, for otherwise he would not behave so.

There is some interisland variation in the brother-sister tabu. On Fulanga it is not so strict as on Kambara. Sexual intercourse, sleeping in the same house, and eating off the same plate are tabu, but eating together is allowed and a girl may eat the food left by a younger brother or by a junior male

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for his elder brother. The younger brother is not allowed to take his elder brother's property without permission, or to touch his head. He cannot smoke the cigarette of his elder brother if it has been carried behind his ear according to the local custom.

Elder sisters and daughters of elder sisters of the mother outrank younger sisters.

PARENTS AND CHILDREN

Veitamani is the collective term for father and child. A child respects and obeys his father and his father's brothers and he honors his *tama levu* most. He treats these relatives in the ceremonial fashion. On Kambara, a high ranking father and his elder brother are called sir (*ratu*) by the children. Another polite form of address is *tumbutumbu* (ancestor) preceded by a possessive pronoun. On Fulanga the father is addressed by the kinship term *tama*, the father's older brother by *tama levu*. It is forbidden to address the father by the familiar second person singular, *ko iko*. Young children often call their father *tata*. The father or the senior paternal uncle sits in the place of honor at the evening meal or at a feast. He receives the first portion of food. The children may eat with him but they may not eat the food he leaves. Father and children may sit and talk together. Children may use their father's or paternal uncle's property without asking, with the exception of his clothes, mats, pillow, or comb.

Hatred between father and grown son (expressed by the term *thathaveitamani*) is said to be usual and to be based on jealousy. The sons say, "My father does not like me because I am still young and strong", or "My father does not like me because the women like me better than they like him. He is afraid that I have or shall have more social prestige than he has or ever has had", or "My father is very glad when I have bad luck. If I have good luck he pretends to be glad to other people but in reality he is always envious." Most boys claim their fathers are never proud of them. On the other hand, if the son has bad luck (no success), the father feels ashamed. The sons say, "Because of their attitude we do not like our fathers and are glad when they have bad luck."

Veitchinani is the collective term for mother and child. There are no tabus between a child and his mother or maternal aunt. He may take her property, sleep on her mats, and eat her left over food. A daughter may cook her mother's food and wash her clothes. The mother is called *nana* by a young child and *tchina* by an older one. The polite forms of address are *nau* (used only to wives of chiefs) and *tumbutumbu marama* (ancestor lady) preceded by a possessive. According to the natives, the mother is not respected by the children because she belongs to a different clan.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

When the child reaches the age of about seven his personality is set. The natives say he has "come to his mind." This step in his growth is recognized and marked by the end of the unconstrained association of the sexes, and by the enforcement of the brother-sister tabu.

In Lau, cousins are divided into two categories: parallel cousins and cross cousins. Parallel cousins include those cousins related through one's father and belonging to one's own clan (since clans in Lau are patrilineal). They are classed as one's brothers and sisters. Cross cousins include those related through one's mother and belonging to one's mother's clan. Marriage of a man with his cross cousin, that is the daughter of his mother's brother, or the daughter of his father's sister, is preferred, and he may joke and have sexual intercourse with his female relatives in this category; but marriage with his parallel cousins is tabu, and sexual intercourse with this group as well as with his sister is regarded as incest. To avoid incest, a boy is not allowed to speak to his sister or female parallel cousin and *vice versa* after the age of seven or eight. This is called the brother-sister tabu. Usually before the age of ten or eleven a boy begins to sleep in a men's house belonging to one of his relatives, while his sister remains in the house with her parents until she is married.

Never after the age of seven or eight do the sexes mingle freely. By this time the child has become definitely sex conscious and is aware of the differences between the rôles of men and women in his community. He has witnessed the sex life of adults and adolescents around him, and has seen the pains of birth and death.